1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

relations would have undergone a complete change. Unfortunately the fair lasted but a few days, and my plans were such that after the fair I had to go to the Taigonos Peninsula.

The discrepancy in the accounts given by various travellers of the characteristics of the Reindeer and Maritime Koryak can, it seems to me, be explained by the fact that the Reindeer people, being nomadic, could always get away from unwelcome visitors, and the Russians did not know where to find the camps which they desired to visit; while the Maritime Koryak, being established in certain places, could not escape undesirable visits, and were compelled to offer resistance when they did not wish to yield to the demands of the Russians.

One demand of the cossacks always irritates the Koryak, and that is the exaction of conveyance without charge. The Koryak, as a rule, have few driving-dogs, and, moreover, food must be taken along for the dogs, even if there is not enough left for the people. In this respect the Reindeer Koryak are more favorably situated. It is a trifle for a wealthy reindeer-owner to give a few reindeer for driving. He does not suffer any privation by rendering such service, and therefore is not irritated by demands of this sort.

The same is true regarding their hospitality. The Maritime Koryak are as hospitable as those of the Reindeer branch, but they have nothing acceptable to offer to a white person. He will not eat seal-meat with blubber. Not even all cossacks can eat the food of the Koryak, who feel insulted if any one shows aversion to it. Besides, the Maritime Koryak themselves often suffer from a scarcity of food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are in a position to offer reindeer-meat to the white man.

The Maritime Koryak, for instance, never offered me food, unless I myself asked them for dried fish, while they always treated my people with food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the contrary, always treated us to boiled reindeer-tongues, a delicacy kept for guests of honor.

On the whole, I retain a good impression of the Koryak. They are hard to get along with if one does not know their ways. They are churlish, rude, and quarrelsome, if displeased; but they do not flatter, are truthful, straightforward, and, when in good-humor, good-natured and jocose.

Mr. Kennan's remarks about the Kamentsi may be explained by the fact that the agents of the Russian-American Company, in whose employ he was, either paid the Koryak, under the patronage of the Russian authorities, very poorly or not at all for their services, or treated them arrogantly, as they did the meek and humble Kamchadal. This is the only way in which I can reconcile the relations between the Maritime Koryak and the employees of the Telegraph Company as described by Mr. Kennan. Some old Russians in Gishiginsk told me that the agents of the company paid by slips or receipts, the money for which has not yet been collected.

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In Kuel the only season when fire, as well as the drum, cannot be taken to another house, is the winter, obviously for the reason that the fire and the drum as family protectors are most needed in winter, when the kalau most frequently visit human habitations. The Reindeer Koryak on the Tʻlqai have abandoned all taboos referring to the fire and to the drum. The Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal have no interdict against taking the drum to another house; the fire, however, they allow to be carried to the houses of relatives only. On the Taigonos, ordinary fire may be taken to another house, but not the sacred fire obtained by drilling.

The skin boat, in all non-Russianized villages, still forms part of the family cult, and it can belong to but one family.[1] The sacrificial grass and the alder-branches which are hung on the frame of the skin boat when it is put away for the winter, must not be taken to another house.[2] In spring, when the seal-skin cover is again put on the boat-frame, and the skin boat is made ready for the sea, the possessor of the boat burns the sacrificial grass and the branches at his hearth.

Russian influence has, on the other hand, also hampered the development of some social factors, or has given them a new direction. Owing to increased security, the tendency to form unions between settlements, camps, and other groups, for the purpose of protection against enemies, has disappeared.

In the concluding chapter I shall give a short history of the conquest and final subjection of the Koryak by the Russians. Here I will speak of the present social standing of the so-called "elders" (Russian, starosta [старостa]). The obligations of the non-Russianized Koryak to the Russian Administration consist in the payment of a tribute called yasak, and in free transportation given by them to Russian officials. Mail also used to be carried without pay, but recently the Government has fixed a fee for its transportation. To enforce the duties imposed on the natives, men responsible for them had to be appointed. For this purpose the Koryak were divided into "clans" (Russian, roʻdy [роды, *sing.* родъ]).[3] These were purely territorial groups, lacking the ties of common origin; and the name "clans" given to them is quite artificial. For instance, some settlement of the Maritime Koryak, or a group of Reindeer Koryak camping within the limits of a certain locality, were called clans. At the present time these clans have ceased to be even territorial groups; for, since the lists of families belonging to this or that group were first compiled, many families have moved to another settlement or migrated to another locality. The officials mistook the loose social structure of the Koryak for a fully developed social organization, like that of other Siberian peoples (the Yakut or Tungus, for instance), whose elders were elected by the members of the clan or occupied hereditary positions. The territorial groups of the

[1] See Part I, p. 41; p. 747. [2] See Part I, p. 78; and Plate VII, Fig. 1, opp. p. 80. [3] See pp. 433–443

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Koryak consisted of families bound together by ties of blood or marriage or by economic relations, — the poor and weak were vassals of the rich and strong, — but these ties were based only in part on consanguinity; and the elders, elected as directed by the Russian Government, were not the natural heads of their communities. The representative principle itself has been accepted very superficially. Among the Maritime Koryak a few old men of the settlement meet, and, if any one points out a man of executive ability, the others give him their support. The results of these elections are communicated to the chief of the district, either directly or through the Cossacks. The district chief reports to the Governor of the Maritime Province residing in Vladivostok, who confirms the elder in his office. The elder generally remains in office for a number of years, and then resigns. Among the Reindeer Koryak these so-called "elections" of elders are still simpler. The elder is always one of the richest men, and is elected according to the instructions of the old men, possessors of herds, who decide the matter at a meeting.

The elder gathers the yasak, and delivers it at the Russian headquarters; he supervises the delivery of dogs by the families in his district, and superintends the people during the passing of Cossacks or the mail, and the visits of the officials, doctor, or minister; and he divides among the inhabitants of the settlement the pay for the transportation of mails. Those Koryak who live away from the main route have no mail to transport, and but seldom furnish free dog or reindeer sledges for the officials.

The elders of the Reindeer Koryak often simplify the fulfilment of the duties above enumerated. Possessing great numbers of reindeer, they furnish their own animals for the transportation of officials, and frequently pay out in their own fur or reindeer-skins the yasak for the entire group. The Taigonos elder, however, exacts the yasak from the members of his group.

During the summer, when communication with the Russians is temporarily suspended, the functions of elders also come to an end, for in no other phase of the family or social life are the elders of any account. Quarrels within the family do not spread beyond its limits, and friction between strangers is checked in one way or another by the parties concerned, without the interference of a recognized authoritative power.

Custom and religious taboos regulate the mutual relations of individuals and families. Frequently the opinions of old men exert a moral pressure on the conduct of the interested parties. All this does not, of course, exclude occasional violence on the part of the stronger man. On the whole, however, the general softening of manners, under the influence of Russian proximity, and possibly to a certain extent the weakening pulse of the primitive vital energy, have of late rendered violence a rare phenomenon.

It must, I think, be admitted that the imposed institution of elders is not devoid of all importance; for, though in a limited degree, it leads to the

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went to Gishiginsk and complained to the authorities that they themselves, and the inhabitants of the neighboring village Levatı, had been robbed in the summer by American whalers. All the inhabitants of these two villages had departed in their skin boats to hunt seals. Only two Koryak had remained in Kamenskoye. While the villages were still deserted, two three-masters entered the bay and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Kamenskoye. Here three whales were killed. The men from the ships boarded their whale-boats and came ashore. The two Koryak mentioned above, seeing the approaching strangers, left the village and fled to a near-by rock. Watching the strangers from afar, they saw how they carried out of the houses foxes, reindeer-hides, and fur garments. Then the sailors entered Levatı, where they proceeded in the same fashion. Further, it appears from the "case" that an account of the occurrence, written by the chief of the Gishiga district, was sent by the Governor to the Minister of the Interior, who passed it over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be presented for explanation to the United States of North America. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, declared that he could not adopt the course of action suggested, for the testimony of the two Koryak was insufficient to positively establish the nationality of the sailors. Thus the affair remained unexplained. As, however, whalers of no other nationality had until then visited Gishiga Bay, it seems plausible that the whalers in question were Americans.

THE NEIGHBORING PEOPLES. — The neighbors of the Koryak at the present time are the Chukchee in the north, the Kamchadal in the south, the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the southwest. On the middle course of the Penshina River we find, wandering with their herds, the remainder of the now almost extinct Chuvantzy people, who were related to the Yukaghir, but have now become assimilated with the Koryak. From the direction of the Kolyma River, single representatives of the Yakut people at times go to the Koryak territory as traders. The Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, like the inhabitants of Yamsk and Tumanskoye, have to a certain degree mixed with the Yakut, who have been forced to migrate from the vicinity of Yakutsk to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea.

I have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the Kamchadal, Koryak, and Chukchee are really branches of one and the same people, as testified to by the type of their languages, their religion and culture, except for the fact that the Kamchadal have no reindeer-herds. According to tradition, the early relations of the Koryak with the Chukchee were different from their relations with the Kamchadal. With the former the Koryak were constantly engaged in war, while their relations with the latter were of a more friendly character. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak, whose territories were as loosely defined in olden times as they are now, came into constant collision regarding pas-

1;Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

turages. Besides, in the days when might was right, herds were often taken by force through direct attack of the herd-owner: they had to be always watched, arms in hand. The Reindeer Chukchee, in their invasions of the Koryak Reindeer camps, would ultimately reach the sea and attack the settlements of the Maritime Koryak. The northern villages of the Kerek are still subject to oppression by the Reindeer Chukchee, who, as the Koryak, often rob the Kerek of their stores, and exact service from them.

We have some traditions recording wars between the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Without doubt, such wars occured often, as well as lesser feuds between the various groups of each of these two peoples; but what may be concluded from the traditions is, that no such antagonism existed between the Kamchadal and the Koryak as between the latter and the Chukchee and Yukaghir. This could possibly be explained by the fact that in northern Kamchatka the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are in direct contact with the settlements of the Kamchadal. It would have been hard to draw an ethnographic line between these settlements. Marriages between the peoples were common, and the border region was populated by a mixed people.

The Kamchadal obtained from the Reindeer Koryak, through barter, hides for clothing, and these trading-relations were peaceful. In olden times the Reindeer Koryak did not advance in Kamchatka farther south than Tighil. The subsequent movement of the Reindeer Koryak along the western slope of the Kamchatka ridge southward led to complaints from the Kamchadal, who accused the reindeer-breeders of driving away their game-animals, or of killing them out of the hunting-season. To regulate these conditions, the Russian authorities require from the Reindeer Koryak, that whenever they pass to the Kamchadal territory, they shall secure the consent of the neighboring Kamchadal villages and abstain from hunting earlier than the Kamchadal hunters. On the other hand, the Kamchadal derive benefits from the close proximity of the Reindeer Koryak; for, outside of the advantages of barter, the Koryak kill reindeer for the Kamchadal in times of famine. Still the Koryak are not admitted to the valley of the Kamchatka River.

The relations of the Koryak to the Yukaghir and Tungus will be discussed more fully in the work on the Yukaghir. Besides, the Koryak at present scarcely ever meet the Yukaghir. Only those of the Reindeer Koryak who during the winter traverse the Stanovoi Mountains to the valleys of the Korkodon and the Omolon Rivers, come in contact with the Korkodon Yukaghir. Their relations with the Yukaghir are rather of a beneficial character. The Yukaghir are too poor to carry on regular barter. Generally they induce the reindeer-owners to give them some hides and a little deer-meat for nothing. The Tungus, who before the advent of the Russians, were constantly at war with the Koryak, began, after the subjection of the country by Russia, to penetrate the unoccupied localities in the Koryak terri-

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

tory. Being hunters, they occupy the wooded valleys of rivers which abound in game, and where the Koryak with their herds are seldom met with. Friction is thus avoided. It even happens that the Koryak and the Tungus peacefully camp not far from each other or side by side. Thus the Tungus gradually advanced to several tributaries of the Penshina River, on which the squirrel occurs; and along the shores of the Okhotsk Sea they quite recently penetrated, even to Kamchatka, where, besides finding plenty of food for their reindeer, and mountain-sheep for hunting, they ran across a valuable fur-animal, — the sable.

Thus the original warlike relations of the Koryak with the neighboring natives were in the course of time superseded by entirely peaceful relations, based chiefly on barter. It is true that the Koryak still have contemptuous nicknames for each of the peoples: but, wherever they come into contact with these peoples, they form friendships and favor intermarriages.

An interesting trait in the lives of these primitive peoples is the remarkable tolerance with which they treat each other's customs and beliefs, and their willingness, in case of need, to recognize each other's strength or superiority. Thus the Koryak do not hesitate to appeal for assistance to the shamans of the Chukchee or Tungus. A foreign shaman is even treated with more than the ordinary respect accorded to his class, for he is the master of spirits who are beyond the control of local shamans. When a Koryak enters into the relation of marriage or of friendship with a person belonging to another people, the accompanying ceremonies follow the custom of either of the two peoples, according to agreement. If a Koryak, for example, marries a Tungus girl, the marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with Tungus customs, and he pays a ransom for the bride. A Tungus girl, on the other hand, on entering a Koryak household, puts on Koryak garments and submits to the customs which regulate the home life of the Koryak. A Tungus has to serve for his Koryak bride Tungus-Koryak marriages are, however, very rare in the interior of the country. As indicated above, intermarriages of the Koryak with the Tungus are of most frequent occurrence in the territory of the Reindeer Koryak on the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers. Although the Tungus are all Christians, they do not invite the Russian priests to perform their marriage ceremonies whenever one of the parties belongs to the heathen Koryak, but wed according to Koryak or ancient Tungus customs. Marriages between the Koryak and the Chukchee are more frequent than those between the former and the Tungus. In the case of these intermarriages, the Chukchee camps within the Koryak territory, like those in the north of Kamchatka or on the Parapol Dol, adopt Koryak customs; on the Chukchee frontier, on the other hand, in the northern part of the Palpal, the Koryak submit to Chukchee customs, including that of exchanging wives.

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THE KORYAKS

V. V. ANTROPOVA
(based on data by S. N. Stebnitskiy and N. B. Shnakenburg)

General Information

The Koryaks are the nearest southern neighbors of the Chukchi. The name "Koryaks," given this people in the second half of the 17th century, stems from the Koryak root kor—"reindeer." The basis for this name was probably the locative case of this root—korak, or "those who are around reindeer." In former times, Koryaks had no general name for themselves. The reindeer-breeding Koryaks called themselves Chavchyvav (Chavchyv); they were also known by this name among various groups of sedentary Koryaks. In ethnographic literature they are known as Chavchuvens. The coastal Koryaks called themselves Nymyl''u, the singular of which was Nymyl''yn. This was derived from the root nym, nymnym—"village," "place of residence"—and thus means "residents" or "villagers." This designation gave rise to the name "Nymylany," which is widely used in the Soviet press. However, this name is evidently not the real self-designation of the entire people. 101

Today, in connection with the process of consolidation of dispersed Koryak groups, the term "Koryak" is beginning to acquire general usage. It is already being accepted as the name and the self-designation of the entire people, but along with it the term "Nymylan" may also be encountered, as applied to the entire people, both orally and in the local press.

The Chukchi who live in the northern part of the Koryak National Okrug sometimes call the Koryaks Tann'o (sing. Tann'ytan). The same name is occassionally used by Koryaks for the Chukchi. At the time of the Chukchi-Koryak wars, the word "tann'ytan" meant "foreigner," "alien," "enemy." Today it has lost its original meaning and is used merely as the name of a people: in the Koryak language it describes the Chukchi, and in Chukchi, the Koryāks. The Itel'mens call the Koryaks Ta luan. [648]

In the past, the Koryaks were subdivided into the following 9 territorial groups: 1) Chavchuvens—reindeer-breeders (constituting approximately one-half of the entire people), living throughout the entire okrug, but principally in the interior; 2) Kamentsy—a group that was different economically, ethnographically and linguistically; they inhabited the larger part of the coast of Penzhina Bay; 3) Parentsy, who lived along the Paren' River, in the village of Paren', on the east coast of Taygonos Peninsula; 4) Itkantsy, who also lived on the east coast of the same peninsula, in three villages known by 619

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relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow.

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep), as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, uyek (Mallotus villosus socialis), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal).

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other.

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants.

In the 17th-19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th-18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study.

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians.

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175 The first information about the Koryaks was received in Russia from the
● 648 Cossacks Semen Dezhnev and Mikhail Stadukhin. The Russian moves from the Anadyr' Fort to Kamchatka began with the campaigns of Morozko (1690) and Atlasov (1697-1698). Arbitrary exaction of the fur-tax and, especially, abuses on the part of representatives of the tsar's government encountered Koryak resistance, in the form of armed attack on the units of tax-collectors.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the change in the Russian tax policy (decreased levies and establishment of a fixed tax) resulted in a cessation of the armed attacks on Russian units. The tsarist government also tried to make use of the wealthy upper stratum of Koryak society for its own benefit. Under the new regulations, the tax was submitted by the wealthy Koryaks, who were granted the right to collect it from the population. Supporting and strengthening the exploiting upper group in this manner, the tsarist government also admitted some of its representatives to administrative positions. Thus, the rich baptized toyon of the village of Kamenskoye, Semen Um'yavin, was even a member of the lower District Court during the reign of Catherine II.

In organizing the taxation, the local Russian administration formed administrative units ("clans"), which consisted of neighboring villages of coastal Koryaks and specified territorial groups of reindeer Koryaks. While helping to consolidate the power of the rich Koryaks heading these "clans," the tsarist government also left the Koryaks at the mercy of the commercial exploitation of Russian merchants.

[433] On the whole, the Koryaks lived in a state of subsistence economy in the
439 latter 18th and in the 19th centuries. But side by side with barter between
175 the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Koryaks, there was also a gradual development of trade with Russians. In the 19th century, the Koryaks could not longer manage without imported Russian goods: kettles, iron articles, tobacco, tea, etc. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, American goods also began to penetrate into Koryak territory. At that time, American traders had their own storehouses on the territory, as well as their own agents, and so on. Trade was usually attended by getting the natives drunk and swindling them, and brought enormous profits to the merchants and buyers.

175 During the latter half of the 18th century, closer ties developed between
177 the Koryaks and the Russians. At this time, Russian villages sprang up on Koryak territory, including Penzhino, Gizhiga, etc. From the Russians, the Koryaks obtained iron hunting and fishing implements, ready-made twine for their nets, more efficient instruments for working wood and bone, and so on.
[342] Under the influence of Russian culture, some of the sedentary Koryaks began to live in frame houses. Russian manufactured goods came into daily use, including metal utensils, food products, and, to a lesser degree, textile
[184] goods. The strongest cultural influence of the Russians was among the
[551] southern Koryaks. Russian names and surnames became predominant among them.

184 Economy
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In the past, the economic activities of the Koryaks consisted of reindeer-breeding, sea-animal hunting, fishing and hunting. The territorial groups listed earlier differed in their economic life. The Chavchuvens were typical reindeer-breeders. They knew nothing of sea hunting, and fur-animal hunting was to them only an auxiliary occupation; fishing was also unimportant. The economy of the Alyutortsy was unusual in that it combined fishing and

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of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters. 773

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnyaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'"). 173 [184] [648]

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish. 773

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few. 538

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator. 534

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women. 535 [533]

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins. 796 526

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares, 32 531 532 462 794 531 [462]

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Samples of ornamentation on hems of fur clothing.

rectangles, triangles and circles), or representational (figures of reindeer, stylized animals and birds, fantastic plants).

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Beads, silk and reindeer hair were used to decorate boots, mittens, matchboxes, and a variety of bags and pouches. Another craft practiced by women and particularly developed among the Karagintsy was the weaving of baskets, bags and boxes of dry grass.

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Contemporary Life

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In December 1917, the Soviet regime was established on Kamchatka. The civil war which soon broke out in the Far East did not allow the launching of economic and cultural work on the territory inhabited by the Koryaks. In the beginning of 1918, Kolchak's appointees took over Kamchatka. In 1920, an underground revolutionary committee organized an uprising in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, leading to the restoration of Soviet rule. In 1921, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Gizhiga and Nayakhan were occupied by a White Guard detachment under Captain Bochkarev. The Petropavlovsk Revolutionary Committee was compelled to withdraw into the mountains. Since

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the White Guards occupied only the largest populated centers, the Soviet government in effect continued to exist in the uyezds. Representatives of the Revolutionary Committee directed the struggle of the local population against the White troops. Thus, a Red guerrilla unit was organized from among the Russians and natives (Koryaks and Itel'mens) of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. In pursuing the Whites, retreating to the Okhotsk coast, this unit crossed the entire territory of the present Koryak (National) Okrug by dog team in wintertime. Together with the Red Army unit which had occupied the city of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy by this time (1922), the Russian-Koryak guerrilla unit took part in mopping up the remnants of Bochkarev's gang near the village of Nayakhan. Individual Whites who managed to escape from Nayakhan and Gizhiga were finished off by the Red Army unit with the direct participation of Koryak reindeer-breeders in the area of Korfa Bay.

The winter of 1922-23 marked the final establishment of the Soviet government on Koryak territory. The short rule of the Whites had been attended by open looting of the population; the reindeer-breeding Koryaks of Taygonos Peninsula suffered most of all, since the White units confiscated their reindeer for transportation and food. The representative of the White government in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy granted Japanese capitalists the exclusive fishing rights within an area that included the present Koryak National Okrug. Japanese and American traders were also given the freedom to purchase furs from the natives.

During the early years of the Soviet regime (1923-1926), the uyezd, and later the rayon revolutionary committees had to do a great deal of work in order to overcome the grave effects of the civil war.

In 1930, after the First Congress of Soviets of Kamchatka, wide activity was launched in organizing local soviets, cooperatives and various socio-cultural institutions. Particular attention was given to the development of Soviet trade. New trading centers were established in a number of villages, where Koryaks were able to obtain essential provisions, hunting guns and ammunition. The establishment of fixed prices on furs and reindeer skins made it possible for the Koryaks to start improving their economic level.

A large role in raising the cultural level of the Koryak population was played by the cultural base opened on the Penzhina River in 1930 by the Committee to Assist the Peoples of the North. The establishment of an independent Koryak National Okrug (December 1930) stimulated the further successes of economic and cultural construction among the Koryaks.

Collectivization among the Koryaks, particularly among the nomadic reindeer-breeders, was conducted under conditions of class struggle. The wealthy Chavchuven reindeer-breeders destroyed large parts of their herds and did everything they could to interfere with the collective farms.

The remnants of primitive-communal relations which had masked exploitation at first impeded the unification of individual households into collective farms. The first forms of cooperative associations among the Koryaks were societies for the common herding of reindeer. Later, the principal form of association was the cooperative.

The development of collective farms entailed transition to sedentary life. The process of settling down was especially complex and difficult for the reindeer-breeders, both because of their traditionally nomadic existence, and because of the conditions of the reindeer-breeding industry itself; the change of pastures demanded frequent migrations. In the transition to sedentary life, this complex problem was solved as follows: pastures were assigned to individual collectives, and the tending and care of the herds were put in the hands of special brigades of herders, which accompanied the herds. The rest of the collective-farm

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members lived permanently in the villages, engaging in fishing and other work.

The work and life of the herders has also been organized quite differently from what was the case in the past. Each herding brigade has a yaranga. The brigade usually consists of 4-5 herders, a brigadier, a timekeeper and a woman "tent worker," whose duties include preparation of hot meals, mending clothes, and keeping the tent clean.

There are also new elements in the technique of pasturing. Especial stress is laid today on cultivation of new pastures and planned utilization of the old. The collective herd is distributed among various pastures, and an exact itinerary and timetable are set for the herd's migrations. For the purpose of guarding the herd and preserving the young, as well as for the better organization of pasturing and saving of labor, the herders today use riding horses in summer, and reindeer dogs in winter—a method entirely unknown to the Koryaks in the past. Various new methods in the organization and technique of reindeer-breeding are combined with expanded veterinary services. Energetic struggle is waged with epizootics, measures are taken to improve the breed of the reindeer, and so forth.

In 1947 an agricultural school for leading collective-farm personnel was opened in the village of Palana. This school trains specialists in reindeer-breeding—brigadiers, timekeepers, etc.

The collectives of the Koryak National Okrug own herds of many thousands of reindeer, and the productivity of the reindeer-breeding farms is rising. Thus, the Kirov collective (Tigil'skiy Rayon) increased its reindeer herd several times over during the postwar years. The incomes of the collectives in this branch of their economy have risen correspondingly.

In the coastal collectives, the principal occupation is fishing. The development of fishing collectives is closely connected with the development of the fishing industry in the Koryak National Okrug. During the Five-Year Plans, a large, technically well-equipped socialist fishing industry of nationwide importance has been created in the Koryak National Okrug. The establishment of industrial fishing has greatly affected the development and consolidation of fishing collectives.

The fishing cooperatives are served by the Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS), which have charge of motorized and motorless fleets. The MRS conduct activities to improve the fishermen's skills, teaching the Koryak collective-farm members new skills as brigadiers, motormen, etc. The chief fishing tools today, in place of the old primitive nets, are new and improved stationary, sweep and bag nets. The skin baydar has been entirely supplanted by motored and special motorless boats.

Along with the principal branches of activity, such as fishing and reindeer-breeding, the Koryak collectives are developing gardening and livestock-raising. Attempts to expand agricultural activities were made before the Revolution as well, but even among the sedentary Koryaks they produced no substantial results. The poorly worked earth gave low yields, and the crops often were killed by early frosts. Besides, the Koryaks had very inadequate knowledge of tending gardens or the use of agricultural tools. Livestock-breeding fared no better; the maintenance of livestock on green fodder all year lowered the milk yield of the cows to a minimum.

Gardening and animal husbandry began to develop among the Koryaks after 1930. A large role in this was played by Russian workers and the local Soviet intelligentsia, who helped the collective livestock-breeders and gardeners both by personal example and by teaching them. Quite often, Russian women came to the collectives and demonstrated methods of planting and preparing vegetables; they also taught the Koryaks how to tend

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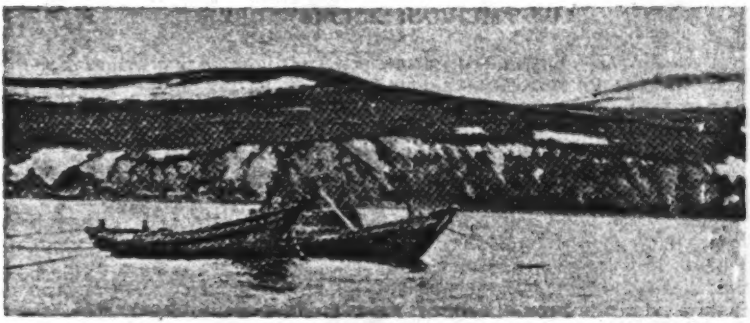

Catching salmon with stationary seines. Molotov collective, Olyutorskiy Rayon, Kamchatskaya Oblast.

cattle. The most favorable conditions for the development of vegetable-gardening exist in the Tigil'skiy Rayon. Today, some of the collectives of this rayon not only produce enough vegetables to meet their own needs, but also grow them for sale.

The income of the collectives from auxiliary enterprises, and principally from fur-hunting, is also rising.

At present, there are several millionaire collectives in the Koryak National Okrug. On the leading collective of the Tigil'skiy Rayon, the Kirov collective, the capital fund reached the figure of 2,000,000 rubles in 1951. This collective was organized in 1941 on the basis of an association for the common pasturing of reindeer. The funds of other collectives are also rising. In 1951, the capital funds of the "Path of the North" and the "Beacon of the North" collectives of Penzhinskiy Rayon reached 1,500,000 rubles.

Simultaneously with the growth and consolidation of the collective farms, there is improvement in the life of the Koryak collective-farm members. The collective villages have become larger and more comfortable. The old semidugout has almost disappeared. Today the collective-farm members live in houses of the Russian type—spacious wooden houses with glass windows. Many new villages have sprung up in the tundra as a result of the transition to sedentary life and the enlargement of collective farms. These include Sedanka Kochevaya (Tigil'skiy Rayon), Krestovoye (Penzhinskiy Rayon), the I. V. Stalin collective-farm village (Penzhinskiy Rayon), and others. In the Karaginskiy Rayon, at a spot where there was only one dugout in 1934, there is today a new rayon center—the large village of Ossora.

The modern Koryak village usually consists of several dozen dwellings and farm buildings, as well as buildings housing cultural and other institutions. Among the collective-farm buildings we must note the stables, which are an innovation among the Koryaks. In all the villages there are bathhouses, bakeries and stores. A great deal of attention is paid to the construction of cultural institutions. In every village there is a school (often with a dormitory), a club or a reading room with a library, a medical or a medical-assistant station, and a nursery. Many villages have been supplied with electricity and radio.

The former dispersion of individual areas of Koryak habitation is steadily being overcome. The means of local communication are being improved. Motorized transport (cutters, etc.) is widely used in

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Preparation of seines. Korfa Motor-Fishing Station.

Motorized transport (cutters etc.) is widely used in summertime. In winter, dog and reindeer transportation are still important.

The general rise in the material well-being of the collective-farm Koryaks has been reflected in increased consumption of bought food products and other commodities. In the present Koryak diet important places are held by such food products as flour, cereals, sugar and other commodities bought in the local store. In recent years, bought urban-type clothing has become increasingly widespread, but side by side with it the Koryaks retain their national dress, especially their winter dress, which is well adapted to the severe climate of the okrug.

Cultural construction, launched after the organization of the okrug, has achieved marked results. Before the Revolution, the Koryaks were illiterate. In the two parochial schools which existed in the area in 1916 there were only 13 Koryak children. Wide school construction began from the very first years of the Soviet regime. In 1925, schools were opened in a number of villages. The school in the village of Tilichiki was reorganized into a boarding school for children of the nomads.

Before World War II, there were 30 Koryak schools in the okrug; in 1951 there were already 97 primary, seven-year and secondary schools (27 of these were boarding schools).

The personnel for the national schools is trained in the pedagogic school in the village of Tigil'. In the course of its existence, the school has trained more than 100 teachers, including Koryaks. Young Koryak students receive advanced teachers' training in Khabarovsk. A number of graduates of the Khabarovsk Pedagogical Institute work in the schools of the Koryak National Okrug. Among the students of the Department of the Peoples of the Far North at the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad there are Koryak students who specialize in the languages, history and economics of the northern peoples.

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Before the Revolution, the Koryaks did not have any writing. They had some beginnings of pictographic writing, but it was used on a very limited scale. In 1932, the first Koryak primer was published, based on the Latin alphabet adopted at the time. Koryak literary language was established on the basis of the Chavchuven dialect. In 1937, a new Koryak alphabet was developed on the basis of Russian letters.

Textbooks for elementary schools are published in Koryak, as are political and literary works. The books published in Koryak include the works of Koryak writers. In addition to the okrug newspaper, Koryakskiy Kommunist, many rayon papers are published in the Koryak National Okrug.

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Cultural work among the Koryaks is conducted by the village clubs, reading huts, libraries and houses of culture. The specific conditions of Koryak life have demanded special forms of cultural activity (especially in connection with the herders' brigades). This has been accomplished by the mobile Red Yarangas.

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Wide political and cultural-educational work is being conducted among the Koryak women. Special departments have been set up at the Rayon Committees of the Communist Party to direct this work, and every collective farm has its own women's soviet. With the aid of the active leadership, the women's soviets organize classes for the semiliterate, read newspapers, draw women into active social life. The sanitary and other committees of the women's soviets help working Koryak women to keep the dwellings clean and hygienic, organize various circles (sanitary circles, cutting and sewing circles, etc.), advise women on various questions of culture and daily life, and help in the rearing of children.

During the years of socialist construction, a wide network of various medical institutions has developed on the territory of the okrug. In 1952 there were 5 hospitals and 14 health centers in the Karaginskiy Rayon alone.

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Religious ideas and the rituals connected with them are receding into the past. Dances and games have lost all their ceremonial significance, and are now merely gay diversions and sports. The traditional reindeer and dog races are now the closing feature of all Soviet holidays.

The Party organization of the okrug includes in its ranks many Koryaks. Among them are propagandists, newspaper editors, and workers of the Rayon Committees of the CPSU.

Many Koryaks have acquired technical and other skills formerly unknown among them, and have become motormen, radio operators, accountants, bookkeepers, zootechnicians, and workers in public health and education.

Most of the deputies of local soviets, people's judges and assessors are members of the local nationalities. The Koryaks have their elected representatives in the Kamchatskaya Oblast Soviet of Workers' Deputies and in the supreme government organ—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.